

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 105193
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-20 AID-05 TRSE-00
ACDA-12 OMB-01 SSM-05 IO-14 HA-05 SIG-03 /122 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:MCFINROW:LB
APPROVED BY EUR/SE:MCLISSFELT
-----051503 252117Z /62

R 251858Z APR 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USNATO
CIA WASHDC 0000
DOD

UNCLAS STATE 105193

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PEPR, MASS, TU, CY, GR

SUBJECT:SELECTED U.S. PRESS COVERAGE CONCERNING EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN

FOLLOWING ARE TEXTS OF APRIL 23 ITEMS FROM WASHINGTON POST,
NEW YORK TIMES, AND WASHINGTON STAR CONCERNING CYPRUS,
TURKEY, AND GREECE:

1. WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL ENTITLED "TURKEY'S CYPRUS
OFFER": BEGIN QUOTE: TURKEY RESPONDED PROMPTLY WITH NEW
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 105193

CYPRUS PROPOSALS WITHIN DAYS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST
TO CONGRESS TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO ON ANKARA WITHOUT DE-
MANDING PRIOR TURKISH COMMITMENT ON CYPRUS. IN THIS SENSE,
THE TURKS MET THEIR SHARE OF THE BARGAIN THAT THE ADMINIS-
TRATION HAD IMPLIED IN DECIDING TO UNLINK THE CYPRUS ISSUE
AND THE EMBARGO ISSUE. FOR THE YEARS THAT THE TWO ISSUES
HAVE BEEN LINKED, CYPRUS HAS REMAINED HALF-OCCUPIED BY THE
TURKISH FORCES THAT INVADED IN 1974, AND THE EMBARGO HAS
WEAKENED TURKEY'S DEFENSES AND CURDLED ITS TASTE FOR FRIEND-
SHIP AND DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. CLEAR-

LY, THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR A NEW APPROACH.

YET THE NEW TURKISH PROPOSALS DO NOT NECESSARILY SIGNIFY THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF EITHER THE CYPRUS CRISIS OR THE NATO CRISIS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. THE REASON LIES

IN THE NATURE OF THOSE PROPOSALS, WHICH COVER THE PROSPECTIVE TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREEK CYPRIOTS AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOT MINORITY. AS OPENING POSITIONS FOR A NEGOTIATION--AND THIS IS WHAT THE TURKS PRIVATELY SAID THEY WERE--THEY HAD A CERTAIN VALIDITY. THE UNITED NATIONS' KURT WALDHEIM, THE AGREED MIDDLEMAN IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION, PRONOUNCED THEM "CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIAL." HE DID NOT, HOWEVER, FIND THEM SUFFICIENTLY FAIR AND PROMISING TO ASK THE CYPRIOTS TO NEGOTIATE ON THEM. AND THE CYPRIOTS, UPON RECEIVING THE PROPOSALS FROM MR. WALDHEIM IN VIENNA, WENT BACK TO NICOSIA AND DENOUNCED THEM AS "AN EFFORT TO USE THE METHOD OF NEGOTIATION...UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL, FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF FAITS ACCOMPLIS" SO IT DOES NOT SEEM THAT MR. WALDHEIM HAS MUCH CHOICE BUT TO GO BACK TO THE TURKS AND ASK THEM TO LOOK AGAIN AT THEIR OFFER.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 105193

WHATEVER HE DECIDES--AND IT SHOULD BE KNOWN SOON--AMERICANS OUGHT TO KEEP A COUPLE OF THINGS IN MIND. FIRST, NEGOTIATIONS, BALKAN-STYLE, HAVE RESUMED: THE NEW TURKISH PACKAGE AND THE CYPRIOT REJECTION OF IT CONSTITUTE PART OF A PROCESS THAT SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED AND ENCOURAGED FOR THE PUBLIC SPARRING THAT IT IS. THEN, THIS IS NOT THE MOMENT FOR AMERICANS TO JOSTLE THE PROCESS, LEAST OF ALL BY PUSHING QUICKLY TOWARD A CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE SHOWDOWN OVER THE ARMS EMBARGO. IN SUCH A PREMATURE SHOWDOWN, THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD QUITE LIKELY LOSE, AND THAT WOULD DOOM ALL HOPE FOR TURKISH RELENTING ON CYPRUS. NEITHER SHOULD SUPPORTERS OF THE EMBARGO LEAP TO CONDEMN TURKEY FOR ITS FIRST OFFER. AN AMERICAN PUBLIC REBUKE FOR THE NEW ECEVIT GOVERNMENT'S FIRST STEPS ON CYPRUS COULD ENSURE IT WILL ATTEMPT NO MORE. IT IS A TIME FOR COOLNESS AND RESPONSIBILITY ON ALL SIDES, AND FOR CROSSED FINGERS. END QUOTE.

2. NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY NICHOLAS GAGE ENTITLED "CYPRIOTS NEED UNITY BUT STILL WON'T COMPROMISE": BEGIN QUOTE: NICOSIA, CYPRUS -- THE CYPRIOTS, WHO ARE RICH IN PROVERBS, HAVE ONE THAT EXPRESSES THE FRUSTRATIONS OF A MAN IN A DILEMMA: "IF I SPIT UPWARDS, I SPIT ON MY FACE; IF DOWNWARDS, ON MY BEARD."

THIS PRETTY WELL DESCRIBES THE SITUATION THAT UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM FOUND HIMSELF IN WHEN HE LEFT CYPRUS LAST WEEK. IF, IN THE NEXT WEEK, HE DECIDES TO

RESUME INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN HOPE OF REACHING A SETTLEMENT BETWEEN GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS, HE RISKS HAVING THE TALKS END IN AN EVEN WORSE FAILURE THAN THE ONES THAT ENDED IN AN IMPASSE LAST YEAR. IF HE DECIDES NOT TO RESUME THE

TALKS, HE IS INVITING THE IRE OF TURKEY AND THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, BOTH OF WHICH WANT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE IN CYPRUS SO THAT CONGRESS WILL BE PERSUADED TO LIFT THE EMBARGO AGAINST ARMS AID TO UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 105193

TURKEY.

MR. WALDHEIM'S DILEMMA WILL HAVE BEEN SOLVED IF THE GREEK CYPRIOT GOVERNMENT HAD ACCEPTED THE TURKISH PROPOSALS HE CARRIED AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THE TURKS, TOO, COULD HAVE SAVED MR. WALDHEIM FROM HIS PREDICAMENT IF THEY HAD OFFERED MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS BUT THE ONES DRAWN UP IN ANKARA AND PRESENTED TO MR. WALDHEIM IN VIENNA DIDN'T DO IT, IN THE VIEW OF MANY DIPLOMATS.

SPYROS KYPRIANOU, THE GREEK CYPRIOT PRESIDENT, SEEMED PARTICULARLY INCENSED ABOUT THE PROPOSAL RELATING TO FAMAGUSTA, A CITY THAT WAS ONCE CYPRUS'S MAIN PORT AND TOURIST CENTER. FAMAGUSTA ONCE HAD A POPULATION OF 60,000 AND THE CITY'S MOST UNINHABITED GREEK AREA, VAROSHA, COULD ACCOMMODATE A LARGE PORTION OF THE HOMELESS GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES NOW JAMMED INTO ABOUT 10 LARGE REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS. MR. KYPRIANOU DISMISSED THE TURKISH PROPOSALS AS A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE AIMED AT LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO. HIS REJECTION WAS DESCRIBED BY RAUF DENKTASH, LEADER OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, AS A BLATANT BID TO ENCOURAGE A CONTINUED EMBARGO.

POLITICAL OBSERVERS FEEL THAT BOTH MEN ARE RIGHT. "THE TROUBLE WITH BOTH SIDES IS THAT THEY KNOW EACH OTHER TOO WELL," SAID AN AMERICAN DIPLOMAT. "THE TURKS DON'T WANT TO MAKE MAJOR CONCESSIONS RIGHT NOW BECAUSE THEY FIGURE THEY WON'T HAVE TO GIVE AWAY TOO MUCH IF THEY CAN GET THE EMBARGO LIFTED. THE GREEKS THINK THE EMBARGO WILL HELP THEM GET MORE IN THE END AND DON'T WANT TO ENCOURAGE CONGRESS TO END IT BY RUSHING INTO NEGOTIATIONS."

VISITS TO BOTH SIDES OF WHAT THE TURKS HAVE NAMED THE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 105193

"ATTILA LINE," MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IT IS THE TURKS WHO HAVE THE MOST TO LOSE ECONOMICALLY BY THE CONTINUED SEPARATION OF THE TWO AREAS. IN THE ONCE GLAMOROUS RESORT TOWNS OF NORTHERN CYPRUS, THE HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS APPEAR EMPTY,

BUT THE TOWN SQUARES ARE FULL OF IDLE MEN. UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE NORTHERN, OR TURKISH PART, OF CYPRUS IS 35 PERCENT, WHILE IN THE SOUTHERN PART IT'S GONE FROM 14 PERCENT IN 1977 TO ONLY 4 PERCENT TODAY, AND IN GREEK CYPRUS LABOR SHORTAGES ARE NOW BEGINNING TO APPEAR. IN THE NORTH, THE TAXIS ARE 10-YEAR-OLD CHEVROLETS WHILE ON THE GREEK SIDE THEY'RE BRAND NEW MERCEDES. IN THE SOUTH, HOTELS ARE FULL,

WHILE IN THE NORTH HOTELS THAT USED TO HAVE NO VACANCIES AT THIS TIME OF YEAR ARE 30 PERCENT OCCUPIED, AND OVER 99 PERCENT OF THEIR TOURISTS ARE TURKS FROM THE MAINLAND WHO ARE BRINGING IN THE SOFT TURKISH LIRA AND WITH IT, INFLATION WHICH, IN NORTHERN CYPRUS, AVERAGES ABOUT 30 PERCENT A YEAR.

IN CONTRAST TO THE PLIGHT OF TURKISH CYPRUS, INFLATION IN THE GREEK SECTOR WAS 8.5 PERCENT LAST YEAR AND IS ESTIMATED TO BE APPROXIMATELY 10 PERCENT THIS YEAR, QUITE ACCEPTABLE FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE PER CAPITA INCOME OF THE TURKISH SECTION IS DOLS 1,057, WHILE ON THE GREEK SIDE IT IS DOLS 2,056.

BOTH SIDES WOULD BENEFIT ECONOMICALLY IF DIVIDED CYPRUS WERE TO FORM A SINGLE GOVERNMENT. A PROMISE OF POLITICAL STABILITY WOULD BRING IN FOREIGN INVESTMENT, WHICH HAS DWINDLED SINCE THE INVASION EVEN IN THE SOUTH. FOREIGN TOURISTS WOULD ONCE AGAIN FLOCK TO THE RESORT AREAS OF THE NORTH, BRINGING IN STRONGER FOREIGN CURRENCIES. THE NORTHERN SEGMENT WOULD BECOME ELIGIBLE FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND HAVE ACCESS TO INTERNATIONAL MONEY MARKETS.

THE TURKISH INVASION HAS DRASTICALLY CHANGED THE CYPRIOT
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 105193

WAY OF LIFE, UNDERMINING SUCH TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS AS THE DOWRY SYSTEM OF ARRANGED MARRIAGES, AND HASTENING THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN IN BOTH THE GREEK AND TURKISH SIDES. THE SHOCK OF LOSING ALL THEIR MATERIAL POSSESSIONS HAS INSTILLED IN THE GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES AN ALMOST FANATIC THIRST FOR EDUCATION, "BECAUSE THAT'S THE ONLY THING THEY CAN'T TAKE AWAY FROM YOU," AS ONE REFUGEE PUT IT. THERE ARE 3,000 CYPRIOTS STUDYING IN BRITAIN, 7,000 IN GREECE AND 2,000 IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE MOST STRIKING RESULT OF THE INVASION IS THE ECONOMIC RENAISSANCE WHICH HAS MADE GREEK CYPRUS, ONLY FOUR YEARS AFTER ITS DISASTROUS DEFEAT, MORE PROSPEROUS THAN EVER BEFORE. THE HASTILY EXPANDED AIRPORT AT LARNICA NOW HANDLES TWICE THE FREIGHT AND AS MANY PASSENGERS AS THE CAPTURED NICOSIA AIRPORT ONCE DID. THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT FOR SOUTHERN CYPRUS GREW BY 15 PERCENT IN BOTH 1976 AND 1977.

THE CHANGES IN THE SOUTH EXTEND TO THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. SINCE THE DEATH OF THE CHARISMATIC ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS LAST YEAR, A WORKING PARTY SYSTEM IS EMERGING. THE COMMUNIST PARTY, AKEL, IS THE LARGEST PARTY, CLOSELY FOLLOWED BY THE RIGHTIST DEMOCRATIC RALLY, LED BY GLAFKOS CLERIDES,

WHO SERVED BRIEFLY AS PRESIDENT IN 1974. THE CURRENT PRESIDENT, MR. KYPRIANOU, LEADS A RELATIVELY WEAK DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WHICH HE IS TRYING TO RESHAPE TO MAKE IT LESS DEPENDENT ON AKEL AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY, LED BY VASSOS LYSARIDES, FOR SUPPORT IN PARLIAMENT.

MR. KYPRIANOU HAS GROWN MORE DECISIVE ON THE JOB AND HAS BECOME LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO INFLUENCE FROM CONTROVERSIAL UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 105193

SUPPORTERS SUCH AS DR. LYSARIDES. MR. KYPRIANOU IS FORTUNATE THAT THE REVERED ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS ACCEPTED, SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH, THE PRINCIPLE OF A FEDERATED STATE WITH TWO SEPARATE ZONES FOR CYPRUS, WHICH WAS THE MAIN TURKISH DEMAND. NO POLITICAL FIGURE IN CYPRUS TODAY WOULD DARE TO SWALLOW SUCH A BITTER PILL. THE ARCHBISHOP'S PROPOSALS ALSO CALL FOR A TURKISH CYPRIOT ZONE OF 20 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND'S TOTAL AREA, EQUAL TO THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TURKISH POPULATION, BUT HE TOLD MR. DENKTASH DURING AN INFORMAL CONVERSATION THAT A ZONE OF UP TO 25 PERCENT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. GREEK CYPRIOT POLITICAL LEADERS SAY PRIVATELY THAT IF THE TURKS WOULD SCALE DOWN THEIR DEMAND TO 27 PERCENT, 5 PERCENT LESS THAN THEY ARE NOW OFFERING AND IF THEY INCLUDE VAROSHA, A SETTLEMENT COULD BE REACHED.

BUT THAT SEEMS HIGHLY UNLIKELY. "WE WOULD BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE OUR INITIAL PROPOSALS, OF COURSE," TURKISH PREMIER BULENT ECEVIT SAID DURING AN INTERVIEW IN SWITZERLAND LAST MONTH. "BUT WE CAN'T GO BELOW 30 PERCENT WITHOUT DISLOCATING A LOT OF OUR PEOPLE ON CYPRUS." END QUOTE.

3. WASHINGTON STAR ARTICLE BY WALLACE CARROLL ENTITLED "HOW ABOUT AN AEGEAN PLAN HELPFUL TO BOTH GREEKS AND TURKS?" (WALLACE CARROLL IS FORMER EDITOR AND PUBLISHER OF THE WINSTON-SALEM (NORTH CAROLINA) JOURNAL AND SENTINEL AND WAS BULENT ECEVIT'S HOST IN 1954 WHEN HE BROUGHT ECEVIT TO THE U.S. ON A JOURNALISM FELLOWSHIP. CARROLL AND HIS WIFE HAD LENGTHY VISITS WITH THE ECEVITS IN OCTOBER 1977 IN TURKEY. HE TOLD DEPTOFF THAT IN ADDITION TO WRITING THIS ARTICLE HE HAS ALSO BEEN IN TOUCH WITH SEVERAL OTHER U.S. NEWSPAPER EDITORS WHO ARE PERSONAL FRIENDS, IN AN EFFORT TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN POLICY): BEGIN QUOTE: AFTER FOUR YEARS OF PARALYSIS IN WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT CARTER HAS CUT THE GORDIAN KNOT (CYPRUS VERSION) AND MOVED LIKE ALEXANDER TO OFFER

PROSPECTS OF A NEW ORDER TO THE AEGEAN WORLD.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 105193

IS THIS TOO AMBITIOUS A READING OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL TO LIFT THE EMBARGO ON ARMS FOR TURKEY IN EXCHANGE FOR THE REOPENING OF THE U.S. BASES IN THAT COUNTRY?

CONGRESS IMPOSED THE EMBARGO IN 1975 ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE TURKS, BY USING AMERICAN ARMS WHEN THEY OCCUPIED 40 PERCENT OF CYPRUS THE PREVIOUS YEAR, HAD VIOLATED U.S. LAW AND THE MILITARY AID AGREEMENTS. THE TURKS RETALIATED BY SUSPENDING OPERATIONS AT THE 26 AMERICAN BASES, THOUGH ALLOWING U.S. FORCES THE CONTINUED USE OF THE NATO BASES NEAR ADANA.

UNDOUBTEDLY MR. CARTER'S FIRST PURPOSE IS TO REVERSE THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE AND OPERATIONAL CAPABILITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST CAUSED BY THE LOSS OF THE BASES AND TO RESUME THE REARMING OF THE TURKS, WHO PROVIDE THE LARGEST NATIONAL CONTINGENT UNDER NATO COMMAND.

BUT DOESN'T HIS INITIATIVE OFFER SOMETHING MORE PROMISING THAN ANOTHER ROUND IN THE ARMS-FOR-BASES ROUTINE? COULD IT INDEED BECOME THE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR AN ADAPTATION OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE, NOW MORE THEN 30 YEARS OLD, TO THE PRESENT NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE REGION? COULD IT LEAD IN STAGES TO AN AEGEAN PLAN THAT WOULD POINT THE GREEKS AS WELL AS THE TURKS TOWARD THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY THEY BOTH SO DESPERATELY NEED?

THE ANSWER WILL DEPEND ON THE PRESIDENT'S ABILITY TO MOVE TWO HITHERTO IMMOVABLE OBJECTS. ON ONE SIDE OF HIM IS THE SO-CALLED GREEK LOBBY LED BY REP. JOHN BRADEMAS AND SEN. PAUL SARBANES. THIS REDOUBTABLE PHALANX, WEARING A FIG-LEAF OF PRINCIPLE THAT HAS NOW RUBBED AS THIN AS A LEAF
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 105193

OF FINE BACLAVA, INSISTS THAT THE TURKS MUST BE PUNISHED UNTIL THEY PURGE THEMSELVES OF ILLEGALITY BY SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. ON THE PRESIDENT'S OTHER SIDE IS THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER, BULENT ECEVIT, WHO IS EQUALLY DETERMINED NOT TO ACCEPT A "LINKAGE" OF THE ARMS EMBARGO WITH THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

THIS POET, JOURNALIST AND POLITICAN CAME OUT OF ROBERT COLLEGE, THE FAMOUS AMERICAN SCHOOL IN ISTANBUL, IN 1944, WITH THE IDEALS OF THE TURKISH AND AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS VIBRATING IN HIS SOUL. THE AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN HIS DEVELOPMENT WAS ENHANCED TEN YEARS LATER WHEN HE SPENT THREE CROWDED MONTHS ON A JOURNALISM FELLOWSHIP WITH THE WINSTON-

SALEM JOURNAL AND SENTINEL. ON A RETURN VISIT TO THE NORTH CAROLINA CITY 22 YEARS LATER HE TOLD A GATHERING OF HIS OLD FRIENDS IN AN EMOTIONAL TALK: "THIS IS WHERE I LEARNED WHAT A POLITICIAN MUST BE IN A DEMOCRACY." NOWADAYS HE OFTEN WEARS A MEMENTO OF THE TAR HEEL STATE -- SQUARE GOLD CUFFLINKS BEARING THE IMPRINT OF A HUMAN FOOT WITH A TOUCH OF BLACK ENAMEL AT THE HEEL.

BUT ECEVIT IS ABOVE ALL A TURK OF THE TURKS -- PROUD, TOUGH-MINDED, WARY OF AN AMERICAN ALLY WHO HAS OFTEN FAVORED THE GREEKS, AND DETERMINED TO EXPUNGE WHAT HE AND ALL TURKS CONSIDER THE INJUSTICE OF THE EMBARGO.

IS THE EMBARGO AN INJUSTICE? THE TURKS, WHO ARE AS INFERIOR TO THE GREEKS IN PUBLIC RELATIONS AS THEY ARE IN BUSINESS, HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO CARRY THEIR CASE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THAT CASE RUNS LIKE THIS:

EVERYONE AGREES THAT THE GREEKS WERE THE AGGRESSORS ON CYPRUS IN 1974. THE COUP THAT DROVE PRESIDENT MAKARIOS FROM THE ISLAND WAS LAUNCHED BY THE GREEK MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS. ITS PURPOSE WAS TO DESTROY THE CYPRUS REPUBLIC, WHICH GREECE WAS BOUND BY TREATY TO PROTECT, AND UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 105193

ANNEX THE ISLAND -- NATIVE TURKS AND ALL -- TO MAINLAND GREECE. IT WAS THE THIRD ASSAULT ON THE TURKISH MINORITY IN 10 YEARS.

THE COUP WAS LED BY A GREEK GENERAL AND 650 GREEK OFFICERS WHOSE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ISLAND HAD BEEN DEMANDED BY THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT. THESE OFFICERS LED THE 12,000-MAN NATIONAL GUARD, AN ILLEGAL BODY OF GREEK CYPRIOTS. THIS FORCE WAS ARMED PARTLY WITH AMERICAN WEAPONS WHICH HAD BEEN SUPPLIED TO GREECE SOLELY FOR THE USE OF ITS FORCES ON THE MAINLAND. THE ARMS HAD BEEN SMUGGLED INTO CYPRUS SINCE THE MIDDLE 1960S.

TURKEY IN SENDING ITS ARMY INTO THE ISLAND WAS EXERCISING ITS RIGHTS UNDER THE 1960 CYPRUS TREATY WHICH MADE TURKEY A CO-GUARANTOR OF THE REPUBLIC. ITS PURPOSE WAS TO PROTECT THE 18 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION THAT IS TURKISH. ALTHOUGH THE TURKISH FORCES AT FIRST TOOK ONLY A SMALL ENCLAVE, THEY MOVED FARTHER WHEN THEY HEARD THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WERE BEING MASSACRED. THE UNITED NATIONS FORCE IN CYPRUS LATER VERIFIED THAT SEVERAL WHOLE VILLAGES OF TURKS HAD INDEED BEEN MASSACRED AND BURIED IN MASS GRAVES.

TO AN AMERICAN NOT BLESSED WITH HELLENIC GENES THIS FACTUAL RECORD RAISES SOME QUESTIONS: WHY MUST TURKEY BE PUNISHED FOR AN AFFAIR IN WHICH THE GREEKS WERE THE UNDOUBTED AGGRESSORS? WHY DOES THE PROVISION OF AMERICAN LAW THAT RE-

QUIRES THE PUNISHMENT OF THE TURKS FOR USING AMERICAN ARMS ON CYPRUS NOT REQUIRE THE PUNISHMENT OF THE GREEKS FOR USING AMERICAN ARMS ON CYPRUS? (WHY DOES A SIMILAR RESTRICTION NOT REQUIRE THE PUNISHMENT OF THE ISRAELIS FOR USING AMERICAN ARMS IN LEBANON?). AND WHY MUST THE U.S. CONTINUE TO SACRIFICE ITS DEFENSE INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 105193

EAST TO STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE GREEK CYPIOTS, WHO HAVE BEEN A THORN IN NATO'S FLESH FOR 18 YEARS, AGAINST THE TURKS WHO HAVE BEEN A CONSCIENTIOUS ALLY FOR 30 YEARS?

AGAIN, THE TURKS HAVE FAILED TO REGISTER ON AMERICAN MINDS THEIR RECORD AS AN ALLY. TURKEY, THE FIRST NATION TO RESPOND TO AN AMERICAN APPEAL, SENT A BRIGADE OF COMBAT TROOPS TO KOREA IN 1950. BEFORE AMERICAN INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES WERE READY, THE TURKS RISKED THE WRATH OF THEIR SOVIET NEIGHBORS BY GRANTING THE U.S. BASES FOR INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES AND NUCLEAR WARHEADS. WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SENT THE MARINES INTO LEBANON IN 1958, THE OPERATION WAS FACILITATED BY THE USE OF TURKISH BASES.

THE TURKS CLOSED THEIR EYES TO OUR U-2 SPY FLIGHTS OVER THE SOVIET UNION FROM THEIR TERRITORY AND TO SIMILAR FLIGHTS OVER THE MIDDLE EAST DURING ALL OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICTS THROUGH 1973. THE 26 BASES THAT HAVE BEEN IN ESCROW SINCE 1975 PROVIDED AN EARLY WARNING SYSTEM FOR NATO, FACILITIES FOR MONITORING NUCLEAR TESTS AS FAR AWAY AS CHINA, PETROLEUM AND AMMUNITION STORAGE, MEANS OF OBSERVING SOVIET ARMS SHIPMENTS TO THE ARABS AND VIETNAM, AND AIR AND NAVAL INSTALLATIONS FROM WHICH U.S. POWER COULD BE EXERTED THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST. EVEN AFTER THE 1975 BREAK THE TURKS (UNLIKE THE GREEKS, WHOM WE HAVE ALSO MANAGED TO ALIENATE) KEPT THEIR FORCES UNDER NATO COMMAND. AND AT THE UNITED NATIONS, TURKEY OFTEN PARTED FROM ITS MOSLEM BRETHREN BEFORE 1975 AND VOTED WITH ITS AMERICAN ALLY IN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL.

SO THERE IS A STRONG ELEMENT OF JUSTICE AS WELL AS SOUND DEFENSE REASONING IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S PROPOSAL TO LIFT THE EMBARGO AND LET THE TURKS OUT OF THE PENALTY BOX.

WITH THAT IRRITANT OUT OF THE WAY, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 105193

FOR THE U.S. TO MOVE TO THE HIGHER GROUND IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND DO SOMETHING TO SALVE THE FEELINGS OF THE GREEKS AS WELL. FORTUNATELY, AFTER THE DISASTER OF THE COLONELS, GREECE HAS RETURNED TO DEMOCRACY UNDER THE COURAGEOUS AND STEADY LEADERSHIP OF CONSTANTINE CARAMANLIS. AND TURKEY,

A DEMOCRACY NOW FOR MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY, HAS IN BULENT
ECEVIT A LEADER WHO HAS FOUGHT THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
AND REPEATEDLY FACED JAIL AND THE ASSASSIN'S BULLET TO
MAKE THOSE RIGHTS PREVAIL IN TURKEY.

THUS, THE U.S., WHICH HAS LAVISHED SO MUCH OF ITS LARGESSE
ON CORRUPT AND VICIOUS REGIMES, NOW HAS A CHANCE TO DO
SOMETHING SUBSTANTIAL FOR TWO FREELY-ELECTED GOVERNMENTS

AND TWO DESERVING BUT HARD-PRESSED DEMOCRACIES.

WHY THEN, RETURNING TO OUR BEST TRADITIONS, SHOULDN'T WE
PUT TO GREECE AND TURKEY THE KIND OF CHALLENGE WE OFFERED
TO EUROPE IN THE MARSHALL PLAN? LET THE TWO NATIONS WORK
OUT A COMMON PROGRAM TO EXPLOIT THE CONTESTED OIL RICHES
OF THE AEGEAN, LET THEM FREEZE THEIR DIFFERENCES OVER THE
AEGEAN ISLANDS AND OTHER MATTERS, AND WE WILL OFFER THEM
THE GRANTS, CREDITS, TECHNOLOGY AND SKILLS THAT WILL HELP
THEM BUILD THE SOLID UNDERPINNINGS OF A FREE SOCIETY.

SUCH A CREATIVE PLAN WOULD GIVE GREEKS AND TURKS A HAPPIER
OUTLET FOR THEIR ABUNDANT TALENTS AND ENERGIES THAN THE
INDULGENCE OF ANCIENT GRIEVANCES. IT WOULD CARRY FORWARD
OUR CHAMPIONSHIP OF HUMAN RIGHTS FROM RHETORIC TO ACTION.
IT WOULD AGAIN SHOW THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD THAT WE WILL
SUPPORT FREEDOM WITH SOMETHING MORE THAN STERILE ARMAMENTS.
IT WOULD, OF COURSE, GIVE THE GREEK LOBBY SOME PLUMS TO
TOSS TO ITS CLIENTS IN ATHENS, IF NOT IN NICOSIA. AND IT
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 13 STATE 105193

WOULD GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AN OUTLET FOR THEIR LATENT
IDEALISM AND THE SATISFACTION OF KNOWING THAT THIS TIME
THEIR RESOURCES WOULD BE USED NOT TO SHORE UP CORRUPT AND
REPRESSIVE REGIMES BUT TO MAKE FREEDOM RING AROUND THE
AEGEAN AND BEYOND. VANCE

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARMS, PRESS COMMENTS, TEXT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE105193
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/SE:MCFINROW:LB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 NA
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780177-0314
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197804109/baaafcnl.tel
Line Count: 473
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 433abda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2830692
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SELECTED U.S. PRESS COVERAGE CONCERNING EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
TAGS: PEPR, MASS, TU, CY, GR, WASHINGTON POST
To: ANKARA ISTANBUL MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/433abda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014